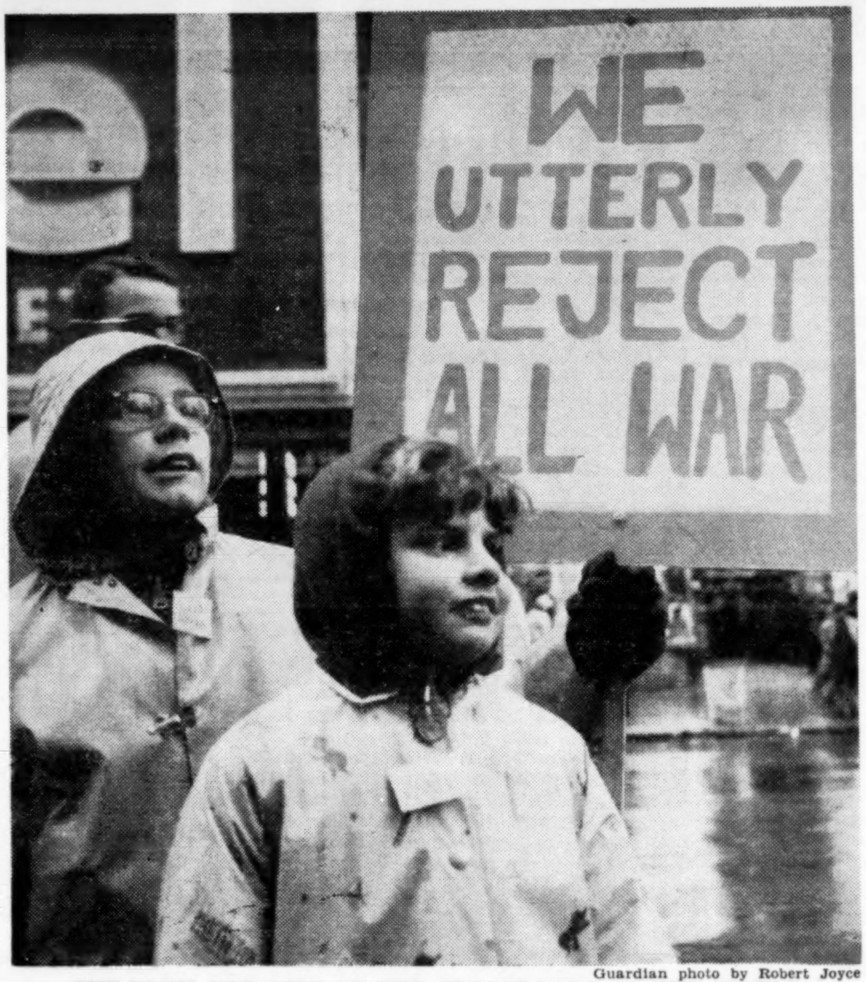
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 13, NO. 26 NEW YORK, APRIL 10, 1961


WE UTTERLY REJECT ALL WAR

Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

THE VIGIL FOR LIFE AT THE CROSSROADS OF THE WORLD

These are children of members of the Society of Friends who maintained a silent vigil outside the U.S. Army recruiting station in New York's Times Square through the Easter week end. It was the Quakers first public demonstration since World War II.

WORLD-WIDE DEMONSTRATIONS

Peace actions mark Easter week end from coast to coast

By Robert E. Light

MOTHER NATURE did her best to discourage children of peace from demonstrating during Easter, but thousands across the country braved rain, sleet and heavy gusts to stage walks, vigils and rallies. Peace demonstrations also were held in Europe and Canada. What started in Britain as a lonesome cry by a handful of pacifists marching from Aldermaston to London three years ago has become an annual international event, to be ended only when the ploughshares have buried the swords.

More persons participated in the U.S. during Easter week end than in any other nation-wide peace demonstration since World War II. If there were graybeards to take bows from the daises, the kudos clearly belonged to the young. They were the body and soul of each demonstration—and the hope. In some cities students spent their Easter recess in week-long marches. Elsewhere they dominated the audiences. A guard at the United Nations commented as marchers went by: "Isn't that as it should be? They have to fight the wars."

New York City was the scene of three demonstrations, reflecting in part a split in the peace ranks as well as varying approaches to disarmament.

TIMES SQUARE VIGIL: Around the Armed Forces recruiting station on the traffic island in Times Square, 284 members and supporters of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) maintained a continuous vigil from 4 p.m. March 31 to 10 a.m. April 2. Resisting sleet, rain and 30-mile-an-hour winds, the Quakers stood in silence in two-hour shifts holding placards reading, "Resist Tyranny With Non-Violence," "Force May Subdue, But Love Gains" and "We Utterly Reject All War."

SANE WALK: The largest demonstration was sponsored by the New York, New Jersey and Student SANE committees. Three hundred persons set out on a walk on March 25 at McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey. They arrived in New York on April 1.

At 9 a.m. the marchers were met at George Washington bridge by several hundred persons and together they set out for the United Nations, seven miles away. Others fell into ranks on the way. The walk passed through Columbus Circle down Broadway to Times Square, where a brotherly cheer went up for the Quakers. The line arrived at the UN at 2:30.

Some 5,000 persons participated. Sleet and rain knocked out the baby carriage brigades and some of the elderly. Young people predominated in the march and their enthusiasm made up for the less hearty who were held back by the rain.

RALLY HELD: An outdoor rally near the UN heard SANE national co-chairman Clarence Pickett, Dr. Hugh Wolfe, Rev. Donald Harrington, Rev. John Bennett, Student SANE chairman David Dubnow and Republican City Councilman Stanley Isaacs, who urged the U.S. to end its opposition to seating the People's Republic of China in the UN.

Messages of support were read from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Walter Reuther, Gov. Robert Meyner of New Jersey and Sen. Harrison A. Williams D-N.J.).

But the hero of the crowd was Pete Seeger, who arrived with banjo. To the chant, "We want Seeger," he climbed atop a truck and led the group singing of "Roll On," a song about the dangers of nuclear war. Seeger had been convicted of contempt of Congress three days earlier for having refused to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee.

(Continued on Page 3)

PHOUMA OR BOUN OUM?

Laos crisis eased, but U. S. puppets remain an obstacle

By Kumar Goshal

THE INTERNATIONAL fever chart registered a decline in temperature appropriately on Easter week end. On March 28 a SEATO communique on Laos indicated that U.S. Secy. of State Dean Rusk had failed to push America's Western allies to the brink. On April 2 a calm and reasoned Soviet reply to the British proposals of March 23 for Laos was published.

But Washington's reaction to the Soviet reply left the future of Laos still uncertain. Taken together with the continuing U.S. policy toward such countries as Cuba and the Congo, this reaction forecast further roadblocks to a real relaxation of tensions.

WHAT IT SAID: The SEATO communique at the close of the Council of Ministers meeting in Bangkok said that if peaceful means to achieve an independent and neutral Laos failed, members of the alliance were prepared, "within the terms of the treaty, to take whatever action may be appropriate in the circumstances." This was a far cry from the threat of instant military action which Rusk sought if the Pathet Lao did not stop fighting and start negotiating.

Britain had sought Soviet support for an immediate cease-fire in Laos, followed by the reestablishment of the India-Canada-Poland commission set up by the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina. London had proposed that after the three-nation commission had verified the cease-fire and the Laotian leaders had formed a neutral, coalition government, a 14-nation conference—including China and all other interested countries—should work out a permanent status for Laos. However, if the Laotians failed to form such a government before the conference met, Britain said the Laotians would not be represented at the confer-

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RABID RACISTS INTIMIDATE WHITES TOO

In Mississippi: Clubs and dogs used against Negroes

By Joanne Grant

MISSISSIPPI, the staunchest stronghold of segregation, lived up to its reputation for violence once again on March 29 when policemen swung their clubs and turned snarling police dogs on a group of Negroes. The Negroes were applauding nine sit-in demonstrators on trial for seeking to use the Jackson, Miss., "white only" public library in the state's first sit-in demonstration.

Space reserved for Negroes on one side of the municipal court room was filled 40 minutes before the trial began. More than 100 Negroes who were turned away stood across the street. When those on the outside began to applaud the nine demonstrators, a policeman yelled: "Move 'em out." Police waded into the crowd swinging their clubs. Several were struck, at least one was bitten by a dog and one Negro was severely beaten by a white man who was arrested on an assault and battery charge.

The next day the Justice Dept. announced it was investigating the incident. Medgar Evers, state NAACP field representatfive, charged that women and children were beaten unmercifully and that law enforcement officers were "themselves committing the violence against Negro citizens."

Burke Marshall, new assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Dept's Civil Rights Division, said: "I have Mr. Ever's story. I'm trying to find out if it's true. If it is, it's a disgrace. I may say, though, that I've been told by local authorities that the instructions to the police were not to use force."

HOW IT BEGAN: On March 27 nine students of Tougaloo Southern Christian College walked into the library, took seats at tables and began to read. One asked a library worker about a book and received a courteous reply. Only a few whites were in the library and they ig-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

No memorial

BURBANK, CALIF.

Is April 12, the day Roosevelt died, a memorial day at the White House? No! It is the day Mr. Kennedy arranged to confer with Adenauer. What a cheering thought to Nazis.

John Manning

Cheers for Russell

DAYTON, OHIO

Thanks for the Spectator column on civil disobedience by Bertrand Russell. That answered an age-old question in my mind. How he teaches, with kindness and warmth! You can feel his love for humans, the simplicity of Walt Whitman. I perk up a little with hope reading Bertrand Russell; he out-thinks the self-thinking smart crooks. Bless his heart.

Carl T. Wagner

Freedom AFTER speech

SANTA ANA, CALIF.

I am highly disturbed at what my ninth grade civics teacher, and for that matter everyone else in the class, repeats (in effect): "We are good and They are bad. How awful Castro and Khrushchev are!" People's minds are so twisted to this that it is an awful chore to talk "the other way" to them. Our choice is to be "either quiet or conservative."

From what I have heard of those brave souls, and they have to be brave clear down to their soles, who have spoken out, you have freedom of speech, but that doesn't cover what happens "post - speech:" house - burning, blacklisting, jailing, beating, subpenaing, etc., because those happen after you have had freedom of speech.

Merle E. Janes

Sensible suffrage control

CORAL GABLES, FLA.

White House press officer Lincoln White seems confident that free elections in Cuba would result in the ousting of Castro. I am inclined to agree with him provided that the State Dept. can get the Kennedy boys to share their know-how on election procedure with the Right People down there.

It would be especially helpful if the two renowned authors of the Cape Cod Clan could be induced to collaborate on something like a New Primer on Sensible Suffrage Control, with a possible foreword by the Mayor of Chicago.

Edward Schindeler

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

On Jan. 18 a space scientist, Dandridge M. Cole, proposed to an annual meeting of the American Astronautical Society in Dallas, Texas, the establishment of undersea colonies in order to survive a nuclear war . . . Cole proposed having a pressurized sphere around 30 or 40 feet in diameter made of transparent plastic or of steel with many windows.

—**Awake, March 8**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: W. M., Bergen, N.D.

Federal aid & jimcrow

BRONX, N.Y.

I have sent the following letter to Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee:

The New York **Times** of Feb. 21 reported that you contemplate offering an anti-segregation rider to the Administration's plan for Federal aid to public education.

As a native white from the South I urge you to use all your power to prevent the spending of **any** Federal funds for the support of segregated schools or colleges.

I was born, bred and educated in the South (North Carolina), and still have strong family ties there. I feel certain that the big majority of the white citizens of the South would support a forthright enforcement of the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

The hesitation, equivocation and the timidity of the Federal government in regard to the Court's decision has encouraged the most reactionary elements in the South to foment rebellion against the Federal enforcement of any law they do not like.

In this year of the brazen celebration of the birth of the Confederacy the Southerners need to be told that they lost the war at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865; and that, as a result, the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments were added to the Constitution. They need to be told that these amendments gave the Negro American citizenship.

As a loyal Southern white I strongly advocate a forthright enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, including the use of Federal troops if necessary, and including the enforcement of the penalties provided for in the amendments on the states that refuse to comply with the Constitution.

The inauguration of such a bold and vigorous policy by the Kennedy Administration would have the strong support of Negro citizens of the South and of the rest of the nation; and would have the support of the big majority, I believe, of the honest and sane white citizens of the South.

The Civil Rights Commission has pointed out the contradiction in the use of Federal funds to support segregated schools and colleges. Your Committee has the opportunity and the obligation boldly to put this issue squarely to the people.

Secy. Ribicoff's suggestion that desegregation of the schools is a side-issue, and should not be allowed to block Federal aid to the schools, is only a part of the intolerable, timed equivocation which has produced the present dilemma. Such timid obstruction should be swept aside. The Dixiecrats and their allies say that public education is itself only a side-issue to the segregation of the schools. Such arrogant defiance should be crushed.

Charles J. Hendley

Charles J. Hendley is a former president of the Teachers Union—**Ed.**

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE UNIVERSITY of California at one time was rated as one of the nation's best institutions of higher learning. Fourteen months ago its Board of Regents ordered its educators to sign a special non-communist loyalty oath as a condition of employment; since then the school's standing has declined sharply. Gone were 110 scholars, many of them at the top of their professions. Twenty-six were dismissed for refusal to sign the oath, 37 resigned, 47 refused to accept appointments. A total of 55 courses had to be dropped. More than 1,200 leading members of the academic world publicly protested the oath requirement; 20 professional societies and groups condemned the oath..

Of the 26 dismissed, 18 appealed the ruling. Last week the Third District Court of Appeals reached a unanimous decision: the oath is unconstitutional, the dismissed educators must be reinstated . . .

An attorney for the regents "assumed" an appeal would be taken to the State Supreme Court. The regent who led the fight for the special oath had no comment.

—**From the National Guardian, April 11, 1951**

Daisy Ward, 1873-1960

ARDSLEY, N.Y.

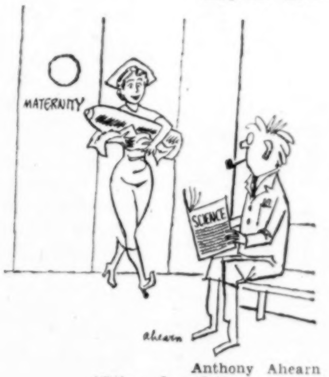
Dr. and Mrs. Harry F. Ward met at Northwestern University, whence they graduated in 1897. Daisy went as a bride with Dr. Ward to his first Methodist church, the Northwestern University Settlement, back of the stockyards in Chicago.

All through the 61 years she was the wife of Dr. Ward, she stood with him, accompanying him on his two trips to Russia, in 1924 and in 1931. She was always active in the Methodist Church, and for many years was Sunday school superintendent in Englewood, N.J.

She took part in the League of Women Shoppers in New York in the Thirties, where she engaged in picketing and once was arrested. As the arresting officer helped her into the paddy wagon, he said, "Mother, you ought not to be here!"

We who knew her through these years remember seeing her motherly and smiling face at meetings. Now she has gone. Rich will be her Crown!

Lee H. Ball



Anthony Ahearn

"It's a bomb!"

Appeal from Mexico

MEXICO CITY

I thank you very much for what you are doing to obtain my husband's release, as well as the freedom of the others who have been in prison with him. I'll always be grateful to you.

The situation here in relation to Siqueiros' case continues the same. The President seems to be deaf to the voices of the world that increase day by day asking the liberty of a man who has given only honor, fame and glory to his country.

But in spite of the silence of our "authorities" we have to continue asking for the help of all those people we know who are against injustice toward human beings.

Please continue with your wonderful collaboration to obtain Siqueiros' freedom. It is impossible for a man like him to be in a place like that terrible jail, his health is no longer good, his murals continue unfinished at Chapultepec Castle. So imagine how I feel and how much help we need to obtain the liberty of Siqueiros.

Angélica Arenal de Siqueiros

Send 'em on

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Subscribers can remail the GUARDIAN when read to those they think might want it for only a two-cent stamp as "Transient—weekly newspaper" marked on the wrapper. I am doing that and sending older issues to Friendship Liberal League, Thomas Paine Center, 5233 North 5th St., Philadelphia 20, Pa.

Veni Vidi

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES ARONSON, *Editor* — CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager*

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Vol. 13, No. 26 401 April 10, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

For the love of Pete

NO SINGER OF SONGS is dearer to the hearts of folk-loving America than Pete Seeger. And a good deal of the love good people have for Pete Seeger is that for all his singing years—on the picket lines of the organizing Thirties with the **Talking Union** Almanacs through the radio-concert-recording successes of The Weavers in the Fifties—he has sung out for every cause he has found just and worthy. Still a gangling lad, to look at, tall as a beanstalk and skinny as the five-string banjo his nimble picking has brought back to nationwide popularity, he is now 42 and the head of a family that includes his wife, Toshi, and three youngsters, Tinya, 6, Mika, 12, and Daniel, 14. They live in a rambling house they have been building with their own hands and skills high up on the east bank of the Hudson River in Dutchess County, N. Y. Pete has taken Johnny Appleseed as his model, planting instead in every fertile seedbed in the land the love of American folksay and peace and brotherhood.

THIS IS PERTINENT now because unless a higher tribunal rules otherwise, Pete Seeger faces fines and imprisonment on ten counts of contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. His conviction March 29 by a jury in Federal Court in New York on the ten charged counts dates back almost six years, to his appearance among some two dozen men and women of the entertainment world before the HUAC headed then as now by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.).

At the Seeger trial last month Rep. Walter, testifying unwillingly as a defense witness, professed not to recall (or at least would not admit) that his investigation into the entertainment world was undertaken at the instigation of a McCarthy-style outfit called AWARE, directed by a lawyer, Godfrey Schmidt, bent on ferreting out alleged Reds in the entertainment field.

NOW AS A RESULT of the 1955 hearings, Pete Seeger and actors Elliot Sullivan and George Tyne were cited for contempt, indicted and finally ordered to trial this year. Sullivan and Tyne are still to be tried.

In refusing to answer the questions which were the basis for the ten counts against him, Pete told the HUAC in 1955:

"I decline to discuss, under compulsion, where I have sung, and who sang my songs, that I helped to write as well as sing them, and who else has sung with me, and the people I have known.

"I love my country very deeply, and I greatly resent this implication that because some of the places I have sung, and some of the people I have known, and some of my opinions, whether they are religious or philosophical—or I might be a vegetarian—makes me less of an American."

Last month on the eve of his trial, Pete Seeger recalled this statement (not troubling to mend its imperfections as all Congressmen do before their remarks are committed to print), at a unique press conference in New York.

Using the runged back of a chair for strings for a first song, then trotting out his ancient banjo for two others, Pete sang to the reporters three songs he said the HUAC had been interested in back in 1955. The first was the **Hammer Song**, the second, **Wasn't That a Time?**, both written by himself and Lee Hays, a fellow member of both The Almanacs and The Weavers. The third was the late, great Leadbelly's **Midnight Special**.

At the trial, which took only two days, Federal Judge Thomas F. Murphy bypassed the defense contention that the HUAC's questions had no legislative purpose and instructed the jury simply to "determine if his refusal to answer questions was deliberate and intentional." Since Pete had made no bones about this point, the jury quickly found him guilty on all ten counts. The maximum penalty on each count is $1,000 fine and a year in jail.

AS THE GUARDIAN went to press, we learned that Seeger had been sentenced to one year. The verdict will be appealed—and that will cost money. If everyone who has ever tapped a toe to a Pete Seeger song (and who hasn't) were to mail, say, $1 to him today—simply Beacon, N. Y.—it would go a long way toward the cost.

And if you'd like to wish him well in person, and are going to be anywhere near New York on April 21, Pete is going to be at the meeting of the New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee at St. Nicholas Arena, 69 W. 66th St., along with Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, both now headed for jail for trying to put the HUAC out of business.

That's a Friday night; why not clear the decks for it now?

—**THE GUARDIAN**

DR. SCHWARZ'S CRUSADERS IN ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

Disneyland meets the 'red menace' head-on

By Clancy Franks
Special to the Guardian

ANAHEIM, CALIF.

A FEW STEPS from Disneyland, the children's world of fantasy, Dr. Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade set up a competing side-show, March 6 through 10, more fantastic and considerably less benign.

With the cooperation of the Orange County Freedom Forum, Schwarz organized a "school" at the Disneyland Hotel, where professional anti-communists and right-wing fanatics preached a dogma reminiscent of the late Sen. Joe McCarthy. About 12,000 persons heard the lectures, including about 9,000 junior and senior high school students excused from class and escorted by teachers.

The "school" grossed about $20,000 in admissions plus the sale of books and the promise of future bookings for the "teachers." But the pay-off for local reactionaries was even greater. The "school" was the culmination of a six-month campaign to create a McCarthyite anti-liberal and anti-intellectual atmosphere.

SRO AUDIENCES: Almost every night ex-Communists, including Matt Cvetic, Paul and Marian Miller, Kenneth Goff and Herbert Philbrick, who earn handsome fees warning naive audiences of the "red menace," invaded the county.

In addition, these films were shown in school auditoriums, churches and in some movie theaters: **Operation Abolition,** a doctored version of the demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco last May; **The Eleventh Commandment,** a drama based on alleged atrocities in China, photographed on Quemoy and Taiwan; and **Communism on the Map,** a political dissertation which credits "communists" with control or substantial influence in all countries except the U.S., Switzerland, Taiwan and West Germany.

THE EVANGELISTS: The activities had support from many local officials and were well publicized in the newspapers with supporting editorials. Cooperating in the campaign were the John Birch Society, Housewives Against Communism, California Free Enterprise Assn. and Educational News Service.

Schwarz's Crusade describes itself as "evangelistic, educational and dedicational." It is based in neighboring Long Beach, but it has supporters across the country. It distributes books, pamphlets, tape recordings and films and it maintains a speakers bureau. It has held "schools" in Phoenix, Ariz., and Tyler, Tex. Others are planned for St. Louis, Peoria and Miami.

Curriculum at the Orange County "school" included: "Is Communism Constitutional?"; "The Role of Women Under Communism"; "Why Millionaires, College Professors and Ministers of Religion Become Communists"; "Communism, Psychiatry and Crime"; "The Naked Communist"; "Cybernetic Warfare"; and "How to Debate with Communists and Fellow Travelers." Faculty included among others: Schwarz, Robert C. Morris, former chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, now president of Dallas U.; FBI informer Herbert Philbrick; Capt. E. R. Barnes, district chaplain of the Eighth Naval District; W. Cleon Skousen, former Salt Lake City police chief, and Paul Terry, retired Navy commander.

A BILLION PEOPLE: Schwarz warned of the Soviet plan to "destroy America" by numerical, military, economic, educational and psychological encirclements and by internal demoralization. He cited as evidence of the "continuing communist conquest" that the Communist Party had 17 members in 1903 and now dominates a billion persons.

Skousen told his "students" that the U-2 flights over the U.S.S.R. were necessary because former President Eisenhower had received word that the Russians planned a sneak attack. He also said that Harry Hopkins sent atomic bomb "secrets" to Moscow in 1943 (two years before the U.S. developed the bomb) in a special plane also carrying "industrial secrets."

Philbrick said that U.S. Communists were engaged in "cybernetic warfare," characterized by the deceptive use of words. He warned that "communists" use words like "friendship, peace or American" in names of "front groups" to hide the true nature of these organizations.

YOUTH DAY: In an interview in the Santa Ana **Register** (March 10), Philbrick and Skousen endorsed the work of the John Birch Society, which is under attack for calling Eisenhower a card-carrying Communist. Philbrick said: "You'll find that many of these same people who are criticizing the John Birch Society are also criticizing other anti-communist movements . . . I do like and endorse the activities of the John Birch Society."

March 8 was designated as Youth Day and special sessions were held at La Palma Stadium (capacity 7,500). Free tickets were distributed to school superintendents. Students were excused from class and chaperoned by teachers. Students who left the stadium before the end of the lectures had to give their names and schools to gate attendants.

Dr. William Brashears, chairman of the Orange County Freedom Forum, said that the "school's" success "exceeded all of our expectations." He said that plans were being made for a series of youth rallies featuring "noted anti-communist speakers." He said: "This is just a small step in enlightening the people as to the communist threat in this country and in the world."

HERBERT PHILBRICK
He carried the warning to Disneyland

THE REASON WHY: Why all this in Orange County?

Historically, the county has always been conservative. Even though it has a slight Democratic edge in voter registration, it gave a majority of votes to Richard Nixon at the last election. It was one of four counties in the state to vote for the Right-to-Work law in the previous election.

Such ugliness is paradoxical in this beautiful land. There are few lovelier spots on this earth than Laguna Beach, San Clemente and Corona Del Mar. Travel writers Richard Halliburton and Richard Tregaskis both settled on Orange County as the place they most liked.

LOOK WHO'S THERE: Spokesmen for reaction like it here too. Residents include William Wheeler, chief invesigator for the Un-American Committee in 11 western states; Rep. James B. Utt, one of the nation's more reactionary legislators, and Tom Hoag Jr., chairman of the California American Legion's Anti-Subversive Activities Committee.

Right wing organizations flourish. They are riding the crest of a wave of unrest and fear set off by the greatest population growth in the nation and the changeover from a feudal-type agricultural economy to an industrial economy.

In 1940, four giant ranches accounted for more than 175,000 acres, or 34% of the county's total land area. Agriculture, with its armies of poorly paid Mexican workers, was king. Today the orange groves which gave the county its name have given way to the electronics industry. The 1940 population was 134,000; today it is 773,000.

SLOW LIBERAL GROWTH: Defense contracts constitute the main financial artery of the electronics industry. In addition, the Federal government supports four military bases which pump $84,700,000 into civilian and military payrolls, new construction materials and utility payments in 1960. One consequence: peace is not a popular conversation topic in many households.

Despite these built-in supports for reaction, social change is occurring. More liberal minds brought here through the new industry gradually are exerting influence. They are demanding more parks, better planning and better roads. The entrenched bureaucracy, a legacy of a century of feudal control, is outraged, confused—and afraid of the burgeoning demands.

But the liberal growth is slow. Mass attacks on the few liberals in the community are paying off. Currently there are 19 recall elections against city council and school board incumbents scheduled for April 18. Thanks to the attacks, 39 school trustee jobs out of 129 up for election are going begging.

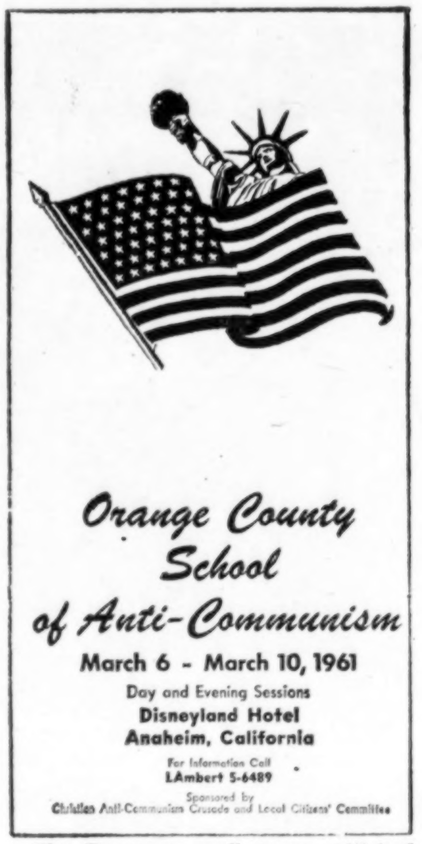
THE DVORMAN CASE: Two big controversies in the "anti-communist" ferment have fanned liberal fears that the county faces a resurgence of McCarthyism on a bigger scale than before. One case involves Joel Dvorman, a local high school teacher for eight years, who is also a member of a board of trustees in another district where he resides. Last June, as a member of the county ACLU branch, Dvorman held a chapter meeting at his home at which Frank Wilkinson described the San Francisco riots.

A non-ACLU member who attended the meeting wrote letters to the newspapers denouncing Dvorman as a "traitor." One paper later retracted its printed story; a second deleted the term "traitor;" and a third refused to use it.

Others took up the hunt. "School Board Member Hosts Communist In His Home," screamed a throwaway. Almost overnight, a Recall Dvorman Committee was set up. Last month, they filed enough signatures to place the matter on the ballot.

SCARLET DOOR: Dvorman demanded a county hearing on the recall petition, arguing that ACLU membership does not constitute legal basis for such a drastic step. Anti-communist paranoia takes strange forms, Dvorman told a recent ACLU public meeting. His solid front door, painted a cheery scarlet, he said, has become an object of controversy since the meeting at his home.

All of his listeners were not amused. A man who identified himself as a member of the John Birch Society shouted at him: "Are you a Communist? Do you defend the Communists . . . the people who want to kill us?" Others in the crowd took up the cry, interrupting Dvorman's quiet scholarly recital.



Orange County School of Anti-Communism

March 6 - March 10, 1961

Day and Evening Sessions
Disneyland Hotel
Anaheim, California

For Information Call
LAmbert 5-6489

Sponsored by
Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and Local Citizens' Committee

The Dvorman recall group criticized his definition of education in a statement containing this phrase: ". . . a staunch advocate of the progressive education system which has consistantly [spelling their's] turned out large numbers of semi-literate graduates who are unable to spell or read . . ."

THE BLACK FLAG: The other controversy arose over an outlaw student newspaper in one of the junior colleges. Three youths, fed up with the pap handed them in the campus newspaper, **The Hornet,** started their own publication which they named **The Black Flag,** trade name of an insecticide used against hornets.

What sent the rightwingers into a flag-waving frenzy was this paragraph on the Cuban revolution in a **Black Flag** editorial: "I cannot help but feel ashamed that we blue-blooded Americans are unable to see the essence of the Cuban aspirations, since the Star-Spangled flying banner is in front of our eyes and blurring our vision. We are incapable of hearing the roar of the voice of history coming across from Cuba due to our National Anthem which is playing too loudly in our ears."

Legionnaires packed the next school board meeting. They polled each member of the board to disavow the **Black Flag** editorial. One by one, the board members repudiated the statement.

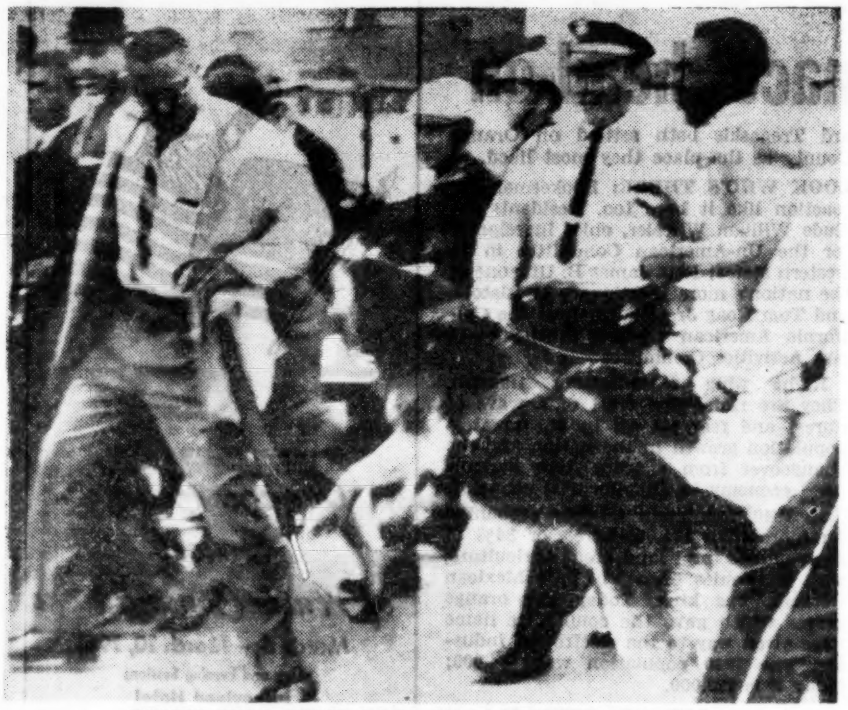
NEWSPAPER FIRE: In such a "know-nothing" atmosphere, anti-intellectualism flourishes. One argument, for example, advanced against two principled liberals in one of the many school board hassles, was that they were not suitable board members since they were not representative of the community. The expressed basis for the charge: they both held Ph.D. degrees.

Newspapers in the county, save one, add flame to tinder-dry reaction. The worst is the Santa Ana **Register** owned by R. C. Hoiles, millionaire who also owns papers in Texas and Ohio. Hoiles, to quote a **Time** magazine profile, "thinks that Herbert Hoover and the National Association of Manufacturers are too leftish, churches are too socialistic; majority rule should be abolished and so should aid to Europe."

BRAIN WASHING: Here and there, battered liberals are beginning to fight back. There are letters to the editors denouncing the hysteria.

But the brainwashing goes on. A newspaper quoted a tanned, freckle-faced 10-year-old boy who had just emerged from a showing of one of the "anti-communist" films:

"Gee, I wish there was something I could do to fight communism."



POLICE HELD THEIR DOGS ON SLACKENED LEASHES
Younger ones escaped the teeth; the less nimble were bitten, clubbed

Mississippi racists

(Continued from Page 1)

nored the Negroes. There was no sign of violence. A librarian called the police and six policemen rushed to the scene. The students ignored the chief of detectives who told them to get out. "There's a colored library on Mill St. You are welcome there," he said.

When the Negroes continued to read they were arrested. When they were found guilty, fined $100 each and given 30-day suspended sentences, the judge said that though their conduct had been orderly it **could** have touched off a breach of the peace.

SPECIAL STATE: Mississippi has been the scene in the integration struggle of more violence than any other state. Negro Missssissippians who attend sit-in meetings in other states are treated with admiration and given standing ovations. To be from Mississippi has special significance.

To live in Mississippi is to live with special hazards—special primarily because in most parts of the state Negroes outnumber the whites. Yet in most counties registered Negro voters represent less than one per cent of those eligible. In 1955, the year that young Emmett Till was murdered, three Negroes who tried to vote were shot. Fourteen Negroes who sought to vote in Bolivar county in 1956 were stopped by guns.

Whites in power in Mississippi are fighting hard to keep Negroes from voting, and are engaged in a systematic campaign to drive them out of the state. Taking note of the chinks in the wall of the Solid South and the steadily shrinking area in which total segregation operates, white Mississippians hope that a reduction in the Negro population sufficient to maintain power in white hands will be achieved before the Negro Mississippian wins his right to vote.

The White Citizens Council has called for the exodus of a half million Negroes by 1964. Two main means are being used to accomplish this: (1) threats of violence and actual violence and (2) economic pressure. Because of the threats, Mississippi Negroes have not been able to organize as they have in other states, and **pressure is exerted successfully on individuals.**

STATE FUNDS USED: The Citizens Council has received $60,000 in state funds since last July for a propaganda campaign. Many whites are disturbed by the Council's use of intimidation to keep whites in line; others object to the use of state funds. Four persons in Jackson are suing to block the allocation.

The Council receives the funds through an appropriation of the State Sovereignty Commission set up by the legislators in 1956 as a "watchdog agency to protect segregation." But Earle Johnston Jr., its public relations director, said at a Commission meeting March 30 that it "also engaged in a detailed investigation program to build a file on persons whose utterances or actions indicate they should be watched with suspicion on future racial attitudes." The Commission has subpoena powers and perjury or contempt are punishable by law.

A "TRAGIC TRUTH": In a progress report the Commission said 228 investigations had been conducted in 82 counties in the past nine months. "It is felt that many of these investigations have helped avert potentially serious incidents," the report said.

Seven out of 12 Commission members are members of the **Citizens Council.** Four, including Gov. Ross Barnett, are on the Council's board of directors. The editor of the Jackson **State Times,** Oliver Emmerich, wrote recently: "There is a growing belief in Mississippi that 'witch hunting' and 'book burning' procedures should be tolerated . . The tragic truth about this secret-police procedure is that it is advanced by well-meaning citizens."

SMEAR TECHNIQUE: An event which led to much criticism was the pinning of the integration label on a University of Mississippi student who is managing editor of the university newspaper. The student, Billy C. Barton, worked on the Atlanta **Constitution,** a liberal newspaper, last summer and the Council now seeks **to bar his election to the editorship of** the school newspaper.

In reply to a question put to **Gov. Barnett about rumors about Barton, a letter came from the Council with a "confi**dential report" on Barton. The report said Barton **had been chosen by a "member of the left-wing apparatus"** (Ralph **McGill, Atlanta Constitution** publisher) for "advanced training," and that Barton had taken part in sit-in demonstrations in Atlanta. Barton denied all the reports and underwent a lie detector test.

The Council uses other tactics to intimidate both whites and Negroes. The Jackson Council recently wrote to delinquent members asking them to reinstate their membership, free of dues, or return a statement saying: "Please drop my name from your membership rolls. I am not interested in maintaining segregation."

THERE IS HOPE: But even in Mississippi there is proof that once the motivating power is out of the hands of the racists, basic humanity comes to the fore. This was demonstrated in two recent incidents.

Last December whites and Negroes joined together in an all-night battle to rescue a Negro worker trapped in a cistern.

In March color lines disappeared in Hattiesburg when floods brought five days of destruction. A Negro woman said when it was over: "Whites of all ages came and sweated it out with us . . . I can tell you this, it's something I won't forget."

A BYSTANDER WITH A GUN
He chased and beat a demonstrator

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This country was not built by men who were afraid and it will not be preserved by such men. Our Constitution, in unequivocal terms, gives the right to each of us to say what we think without fear of the power of the government.
—**Justice Hugo Black,**
dissenting in the Wilkinson case, Feb. 27, 1961

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SELF-HELP IS THE KEY

How China averts a famine despite devastating drought

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

PEKING

CHINA WAS HIT in 1960 by a combination of natural calamities unmatched for a century. Drought, typhoons and pests struck 150,000,000 acres, more than half the crop lands, and "seriously affected" some 50,000.000 to 60,000,000 of the acres. Some areas had no rain for 300 days. The mighty Yellow River was so drained by drought and by emergency irrigation that it had practically no flow of water near its mouth for a month. The same thing happened to the Chialing River, chief tributary of the Yangtze at Chungking, though the province, Szechwan, is historically China's ever normal granary. Meantime the coastal provinces from Hainan Island in the south to the Mukden area in Manchuria were swept by 11 typhoons.

When the Chinese Communist Party announced Jan. 20, 1961, that the 1960 plan for agriculture had not been fulfilled, the Western press saw "famine" and blamed it on "the failure of the communes." Chinese do not believe that their communes are to blame for typhoons that carry away 5,000 houses and uproot half a million fruit trees at a clip, or for drought that dries the Yellow River, but they moved fast to strengthen any weak spots in communes the calamities might have revealed.

SWIFT ACTION: Everywhere people and government swung into a program to bring the country through the difficulties with a strengthened economy and a healthy population. Old China hands say that, in pre-liberation China, these calamities would indeed have produced a historic famine with at least 10,000,000 dead. But this year no families flee their homes, no corpses lie by the roadside, no children with bloated bellies wail for food at railway stations.

The slogan is: "Nobody will die of hunger! Nobody will even have to stop normal life and work." While these are aims, not guarantees, they seem likely to be fairly well fulfilled.

The grain crop, less than in either 1958 or 1959, is larger than in 1957 or in any previous year. But grain needs have grown because population, livestock and industrial needs have grown. So China, for the first time since Liberation, bought grain in Canada and Australia by the million tons. But foreign grain, even though in million-ton purchases, cannot be decisive for China; the country is big. A million tons from Canada means a lot in foreign currency and transport troubles, but is only three pounds per capita for China, a bare three-day's supply. But if Chinese themselves each save a single pound of grain a month—which is no serious deprivation—this makes 4,000,000 tons a year, delivered to the spot. Salvation for China must come from within.

CHINA TIGHTENS ITS BELT BUT THE KIDS GET FULL RATIONS

SELF-HELP: The keynote is normalcy for both people and government. Peasants no longer flee as in ancient famines; they are organized in communes and can handle the difficulties better at home. Each locality meets its own troubles, backed by the resources of the nation. Hainan Island, ravaged by typhoon, hastens to plant a quick crop of sweet potatoes, and meantime buys a million bushels of rice from Kwantung province in which it lies. Kwantung, which for decades imported grain, this year feeds two typhoon-struck areas and one flood area near Canton and has a surplus with which to help nearby provinces, worse hit than Kwantung.

When, however, a commune near Mukden is hit by a typhoon that destroys 5,000 houses and inundates 85% of the croplands of 145,000 people, the province acts. Mukden quickly sent a million dollars worth of food, seed, clothes and tools, and within three months the local people rebuilt their homes and got in a sowing of winter wheat.

Besides giving aid in such special emergencies, two government policies may be noted. Mechanizing of agriculture is rushed, with tractors sent especially to the drought-prone northern wheat plain. The great irrigation drives which for three winters sent the huskiest farmers to build irrigation projects were called off for the winter of 1960-61. First, because the men needed rest after three hard working winters. Next, because the fields needed attention from the strong men, who had often returned late for the sowing, which had been handled by weaker people. Lastly, grain is saved, for irrigation labor needs an extra pound of grain a day per person.

CONSUMPTION CUT: Meantime all China cuts down on grain consumption, by an average of about a pound a month. In the Chinese system there is no fixed ration. Every person states his "grain needs"; they vary with age, sex and area of residence. A tall Manchurian peasant will ask 60 pounds a month and get it; a Cantonese will need a little more than half that, for his climate is warm and his vegetables many.

My secretary sets her normal grain need at 29.7 pounds monthly. This winter, in the economy campaign, she listed it at 28.6. This is not a big cut; she says she felt no difference except a little more attention to avoid waste.

The moment she registers her "grain need," it becomes part of the "state purchase plan" of China, to be bought in Canada if need be. The tickets for it are delivered to her every month about the 24th for the next month's grain and are good to the 31st of the next month. She can buy anytime, anywhere, in dining-room or store, a month's grain or a meal's grain as she desires. There are no "breadlines" on staples.

MORE FOR CHILDREN: No cuts are allowed on children's food; in fact, the child's "grain needs" rise with each birthday, and the extra tickets are delivered to the mother from the agency that registers births. Peking kindergartens, incidentally, doubled the milk allowance per child on Jan. 1, because "vitamins in vegtables grow less as winter wears on." Every kindergarten child in Peking gets milk, eggs and fruit once a day.

Normalcy also is the keynote for the government. Steel and coal output rise; song and dance troupes from Cuba and Vietnam tour the provinces, and a world ping-pong championship is featured in Peking. China does not even cancel her commitments to export grain to small, friendly nations like Cuba, Guinea, Albania, Ceylon. She will not pass on her troubles to weaker nations when she can more than cover them by her purchases in Canada.

Some larger food shipments to socialist nations have been "postponed" by mutual consent; China thus keeps a sizeable soy bean crop, more potent against malnutrition than either wheat or rice. The luxury food exports of canned meats, fish, fruits and sweet biscuits that went from the Canton Trade Fair to the South Seas were diverted to China's own cities. These were the real source of the "breadlines" which critical correspondents noted.

NEW WISDOM: The natural calamities in crops will cost China a lot of foreign currency and some lessened speed. But China seems likely to emerge from this hard winter with a strengthened economy and a healthy population, a population, moreover, better educated in the science of nutrition than any people I know.

Where else can every citizen give you his "normal grain need" by the month, and every high-school adolescent tell you how much more grain he needs if he "goes in for sports." Every food wrinkle of Hollywood, from yeast culture or vitamins in rice husks and bean sprouts to growing Chlorella, "the food you will eat when you travel to the moon," is commonplace now to today's Chinese.

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Hon. William H. Meyer

Is there a conflict between individual liberty and national security? Does a government of limited powers, our Federal government, have a right to violate the liberty of individuals even in the name of national "self preservation"?

Panel II—POLITICAL ACTION AND THE WITCH HUNT

Discussion Leaders: Prof. H. H. Wilson
Carl Braden

What are the political motives behind the concerted attempt to expose, limit and intimidate dissenters? Its effect on our democratic system? The role of openness and discussion in creating a "sense of community" and a climate of freedom?

Panel III—LEGAL PROTECTION FOR DISSENTERS

Discussion Leaders: Judge Hubert T. Delaney
Leonard B. Boudin, Attorney

What has the "balancing theory" recently adopted by the Supreme Court done to the constitutional rights of individuals? What hope have dissenters in future appeals to the courts for protection against violations by the Executive and Congressional branches of the government?

Panel IV—HUAC AND OTHER HATE GROUPS

Discussion Leaders: The Rev. Arthur Walmsley
David Wesley, Editor

To what extent is the House Un-American Activities Committee operating in non-legislative fields contrary to the limitations on Congress in the Constitution? How does that non-legislative work tie into operations of hate groups seeking in one way or another to deny civil rights and civil liberties?

Panel V—REPRESSION OF LIBERTY—HOW IT AFFECTS YOUR FUTURE

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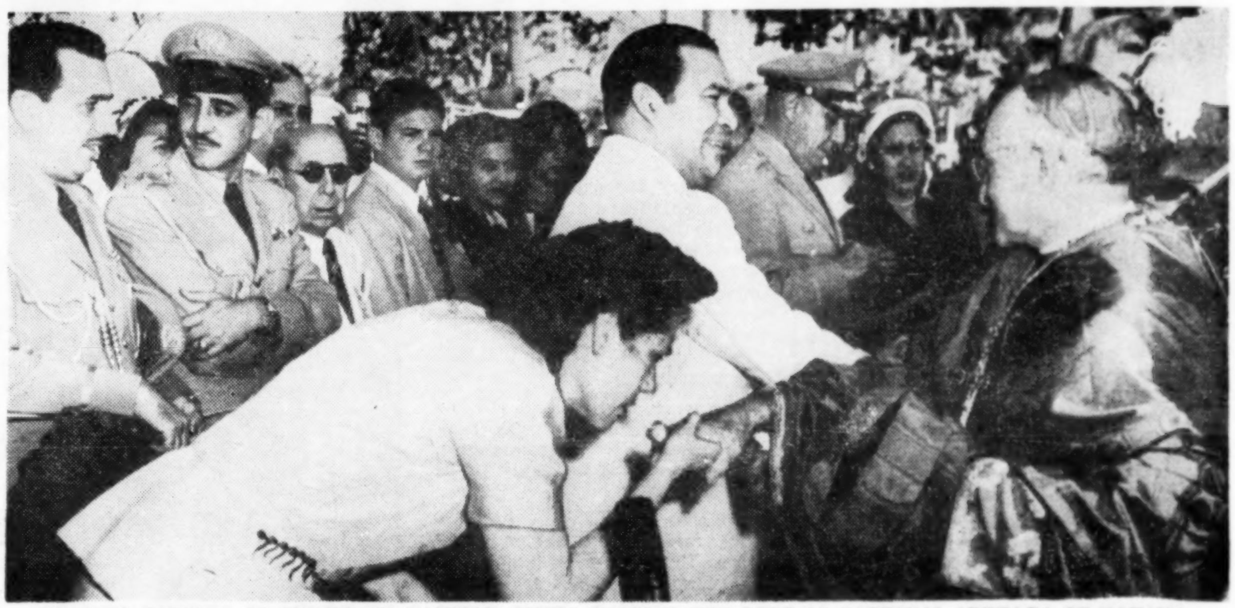
THE REVOLUTION AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH—II

The hierarchy's losing battle for Cuba's soul

By Cedric Belfrage

(Second of two articles)



SENORA BATISTA IS SHOWN IN HAPPIER TIMES KISSING THE RING OF CARDINAL ARTEAGA OF HAVANA

Second from the left is Col. Blanco Rico, one of Batista's top cops and chief torturer of Cuba

HAVANA

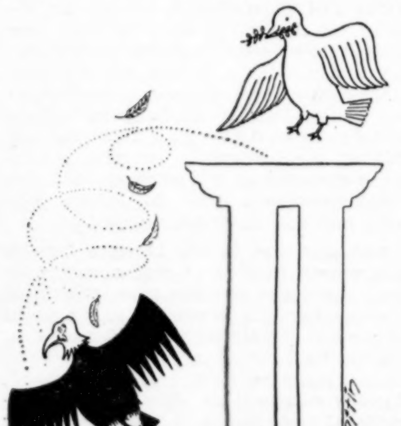
THE VIRGIN of Charity of El Cobre, patron saint of Cuba, stands on a hilltop in Oriente province inscrutably watching the contest for her favor. For the mass of Cuban believers, ever mindful that Spanish imperialism brought the Faith here, she is a patriotic symbol.

The hierarchy and priesthood—mostly of Spanish origin—now lavish praise upon the long-ignored saint, hoping thus to take the imperialist and Falangist curse off themselves. But priestly prestige, already low since the Spanish civil war in which Cubans were overwhelmingly pro-Republican, continues to drop with each Pastoral against the revolution.

Probably no country today has such a high percentage of people who insist they are Catholics and openly challenge their own "spiritual leaders." In many churches the reading of anti-government Pastorals has brought congregations to their feet, drowning out the priest with the national anthem.

In one case where the priest called for silence in memory of executed counterrevolutionary murderers, police had to intervene in a fist- and fingernail-fight that developed outside the church. On the day after the recent bombing of a school which provoked protests against "priestly terrorists," stones were thrown at some churches and a Havana wedding had to be called off.

FEW STOOD UP: Yet the priesthood came through the Batista nightmare not without some credit. Mainly this was due to the heroism of the "With Cross and Fatherland" priests; even one bishop—Villaverde or Matanzas, now dead—remains honored in memory for his personal protests to Batista against the tyrant's assassinations. (Villaverde's secretary was murdered by Batista. At the funeral, which he urged all parishioners to attend, police fired on the procession; the Bishop clung to the funeral coach and cried that they would have to kill him to remove him.)



Pitin, Hoy, Havana

But in general the hierarchy earned the people's contempt by its silence and sycophancy. The contempt is all the greater in the case of a Cardinal Arteaga, who was once beaten by Batista's police on suspicion of harboring malcontents in his palace but continued fawning on the dictator. Now aging, Cuba's Cardinal is rarely heard from.

Always closely linked to Franco Spain, the hierarchy is losing the last vestige of claim to Cuban patriotism as it becomes more and more the creature of U.S. imperialism. Cuban Catholics resent the arrogant meddling of a Cardinal Spellman, who publicly donates thousands of dollars to the Miami counterrevolutionaries, and a Cardinal Cushing who flies in with the Senate Armed Forces Committee's Saltonstall to bless the U.S. base at Guantanamo. Even more repulsive to them is the decoration by the Pope of ex-ambassador Jefferson Caffrey, known to Cubans as "patron of the Batista tyranny" and "one of the most pathetic lackeys of U.S. imperialism."

SERVED THE RICH: By attacking the revolution when it began large-scale nationalization, the bishops underlined for everyone the fact that they "always walked with the wealthy" and were mainly concerned about money. When Archbishop Boza Masvidal of Havana said last November that the revolution might be acceptable "had it been based on just measures without destroying anyone's legitimate rights," Cubans knew this was like a father telling his son: "I would not have to punish you, had you gone swimming without getting wet."

No one knows just how much the Church has lost in assets and income through nationalization. Its chief "benefactors" have fled north. It was a property owner on an enormous scale, and the rent racket has been doomed by the revolution. The sugar and other monopolies, which had priests on their payrolls to preach submission to starving workers, are no more.

CEMETERY RACKET: It still has the cemetery racket, but Castro's latest speech numbers the days of that too: it is to be nationalized. For each body buried in Havana's vast Cristobal Colon cemetery, the Church till now must get its dollars—a rising tariff from an unmarked weed-covered grave in the pauper section to a bare wooden cross to a classy vault. In the poorer sections, the fees cover only a three-year period under quicklime, after which the bones are removed and the space used for a new customer.

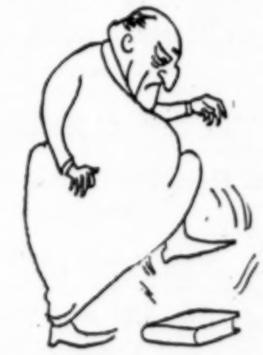
The wealthy section of this cemetery—a stupefying projection of the class system into the "hereafter"—contains hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of marble and onyx, hideously carved into angels, Virgins and Christs presiding over the putrefaction of Cuba's robber-baron families. Some of the most lavish monuments and inappropriate texts mark the depositaries of grafting Cuban Presidents, from Jose Miguel Gomez ("he rose from nothing to $8,000,000," the guide tells you) to recent incumbents who finally learned you can't take it with you.

But such is the strength of tradition that Habaneros still pay the extortionate charges—under rising protest—to bury their dead there. Today it is an extraordinary cross-section of Cuban life and its troubled history. Revolutionary martyrs lie next to Batista killers—alike with fresh flowers on their graves—and a gravedigger points and says: "This one was a rebel hero who fought 15 Batista goons till he fell; this was a torturer who killed 98 of our people, and this one specialized in burning women with red-hot irons." In the gravediggers' hut, the Church's dwindling power to bamboozle the faithful is symbolized by wall-slogans: "He who betrays the poor betrays Christ," "A Christian is one who serves his country without abandoning God."

COMPETITION: Church schools and colleges—some, like Villanueva University, superior scholastically to lay institutions—remain a limited stronghold for clerical counterrevolution. Charging fat fees, they cater to the offspring of the wealthy. Villanueva expelled 17 students last year for pro-government activities; they were received with honor at Havana University, where, however, there is a dire shortage of professors.

Today the work of both Church and lay colleges is disrupted by political demonstrations with pro- and anti-government forces vying for the youth of Cuba. There is no doubt where the great majority stand, but Falangist educators play to the utmost upon the government's known reluctance to strike hard at "the Church."

One thing is certain: "anti-religious" activities as such hardly exist in Cuba, and government leaders constantly point out that the right to any religious belief and practice is respected. Synagogues and Protestant sects have had no problems since the revolution, although U.S. Protestant missionaries have been recalled home in an apparent attempt to make it appear otherwise. The press daily lists church events, and signs in the windows of plush autos, "We are Catholics—in case of an accident please call a priest," arouse no comment. At Sunday sugarcane cuttings, children circulate with collection boxes for the Catholic catechizing drive.



Hoy, Havana

PROPHET OF TRUTH: Visitors to Cuba, expecting an atmosphere something like that of the socialist countries, are amazed to see ardent Fidelistas wearing crucifixes and sacred medallions around their necks, and with Virgin shrines in their homes. These household shrines are apt to be topped by the Cuban flag, and pictures of Jesus and Castro often hang side by side on the wall.

Last Christmas, a Havana TV station rigged up a lobby model of the three Kings visiting the Christ child: the Kings were Castro, "Che" Guevara and army chief Almeida, and their gifts were marked "agrarian reform," "education" and "public health." Northern newspapers headlined this as "another blasphemy," but to ordinary Cuban Catholics it was completely natural and right.

The spirit Castro evokes seems to them in the best sense religious. With his thunderously rolled "r's," his identification of wealth and wickedness and direct appeal to "the humble," he sounds like a latter-day Isaiah come to prophesy. Each time he speaks, it is another battle lost by the hierarchy for the soul of Catholic Cuba.

The Red menace in Disneyland

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500 ATTEND FROM 15 COUNTRIES

Paris conference calls for Spanish amnesty

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

FIVE HUNDRED delegates from 15 West European countries met over the pre-Easter week end in Paris to call for a general amnesty for 50,000 Spanish exiles and 4,000 political prisoners in Franco jails, some of whom have been in prison since the Spanish Civil War ended 22 years ago.

Delegates heard the principal speakers report some shocking figures on prison terms handed out by Spanish justice (in Burgos prison alone, three-fourths of the 393 political prisoners have been sentenced to more than 20 years, seven to 60 years). They heard a report also of the new Franco decree that equates every kind of political offense with military rebellion, to be brought before military courts. The Paris conference sent amnesty appeals to the UN General Assembly, the UN commission on the Rights of Man, the Council of Europe and to Pope John XXIII.

Significantly, before the conference ended, news reached Paris that on March 16, for the first time in a political trial in Madrid, seven out of eight defendants were acquitted. During the conference, too, 150 Spanish intellectuals and artists, at the risk of their lives, sent their signatures in support of the amnesty appeal.

A UNITED ASSEMBLY: Present as delegates to the Spanish Amnesty Conference, or behind them as sponsors, were some of the greatest names in literature and art—from Cocteau to Picasso, from Alberto Moravia to Henry Moore, from Jean-Paul Sartre to Brendan Behan. But that was not the most remarkable thing about the meeting: For the first time in many years, here was an international assembly, united on limited but firm objectives, where the liberals and the extreme left, the center and right of center, communists, conservatives and socialists, church and trade union representatives, sat side by side.

Clement Davis, grand old man of the Liberal Party, and Conservative M. P. William Shephard came from England along with R. P. Briginshaw, secretary of the British Miners' Union. Christian Democrat Mayor La Pira of Florence represented Italy together with Secy. Gen. Santi of the Italian Labor Federation. Queen Mother Elizabeth sent a message from Belgium. Former French President Auriol was one of the French signatories to the conference. In all there were nine former prime ministers, dozens of deputies and senators and five Nobel Prize winners among the sponsors.

WHAT THEY SAID: The delegates heard elderly Jesuit Father Michel Riquet, an inmate of the Mauthausen concentration camp, in a message deplore the fact that his old Spanish deportee friends of Mauthausen "15 years later are still in exile or in prison." Aldo Garosci, writer and professor at Rome University, described justice in Spain today, "where no act has ever marked the end of the repression and the beginning of legality." Siegfried Einstein, West German writer, recalled the dark times of fascism. He compared the life of the mercenary fliers of the German Condor legion—architects of the Franco victory in the Spanish Civil War, who are free to organize meetings anywhere in West Germany today—with the slow dying of Spanish Republicans in Franco's jails.

The head of the Italian delegation told the GUARDIAN how her group of 80 had been assembled and brought to Paris:

"There are many political shades among us, from the CP to the Christian Democrats. We have a group of young people too: two Christian Democrats, two Communists, one Socialist, two members of the students' union. At first they agreed on practically nothing. Now they are the best of friends. Film director Michelangelo Antonioni was planning to come, but when we left Rome he was in bed with high fever. The Italian press has been very encouraging.

"We got organized very quickly. Picasso had offered a drawing and a lithograph to be sold for the benefit of the conference. We asked Italian artists to donate some of their work too, and in mid-March held an exhibition at the Einaudi Library Gallery in Rome. We invited only a few wealthy people, but all Rome came. Some drawings offered at 10,000 lire were sold at 200,000. The sale almost financed the delegation's trip. We are going to have another one in Milan to get money to keep on working for Spanish amnesty."

WINDOW OF HOPE: Journalist Eileen Turner, head of the English delegation, was elated: Clement Davis was presiding at the afternoon session. Just up on the speaker's rostrum was Mrs. Betty Sinclair of the Belfast Trade Union Council (membership 75,000). Oxford, Cambridge and the other big universities had sent delegates. The British delegation of 100 was the biggest national group present.

A white-haired emaciated Spaniard, one of the last to leave the meeting, told the GUARDIAN correspondent:

"Thank you for all you do in your country. I have been in Spanish prisons 14 years; I came out two years ago. So many others are still there. They have been there for 15, 20 years; they still have years to go. This meeting will bring them great moral comfort. For those in Spain and in prison, for those halfway between life and death, it will open a window of hope."

Foreign Born testimonial meeting in S. F. April 21

THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will celebrate its eighth Annual Testimonial Evening on Friday, April 21, at 7 p.m. in the Empire Room of the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, San Francisco.

The meeting will honor Francis J. McTernan, civil liberties and labor attorney; Victor Arnautov, prominent California artist, and Phyllis Heikkila, whose husband, William Heikkila, died after enduring years of persecution by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Reservations are $2.50. They may be obtained through the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Room 610, 942 Market Street, YU 2-5984, or from Claire Jensen, 1422 Seventh Street, Berkeley, LA 4-0259.

FIGHT FOR RIGHTS GOES ON

S. Africa abandons treason trial; 28 acquitted for lack of evidence

THE FOUR-YEAR-OLD South African treason trial, which roused world-wide protest, ended on March 29 with a defeat for the government. The three judges of the Pretoria court unanimously acquitted of treason charges the last 28 of the 156 original defendants, all members of the African Natl. Congress, the South African Congress and other organizations actively fighting the government's racist policies.

At the preliminary hearings in December, 1956, the prosecution presented 8,000 documents and 1,000 speeches as evidence that the defendants conspired to "subvert, overthrow and destroy the state" by means of a violent revolution. The documents included such subversive material as a book of Russian recipes, a student's essay on an 18th Century Vienna settlement and a description of a scenic tour.

NO EVIDENCE: The South African government customarily metes out summary punishment to its opponents without benefit of law. It went through legal processes in the treason trial because the arrests had aroused indignation throughout the world. It dropped charges against many of the defendants for lack of sufficient evidence. The last 28 were acquitted because, the court said, it was impossible to conclude "on the basis of evidence presented . . . that the African Natl. Congress had acquired or adopted a policy to overthrow the state by violence."

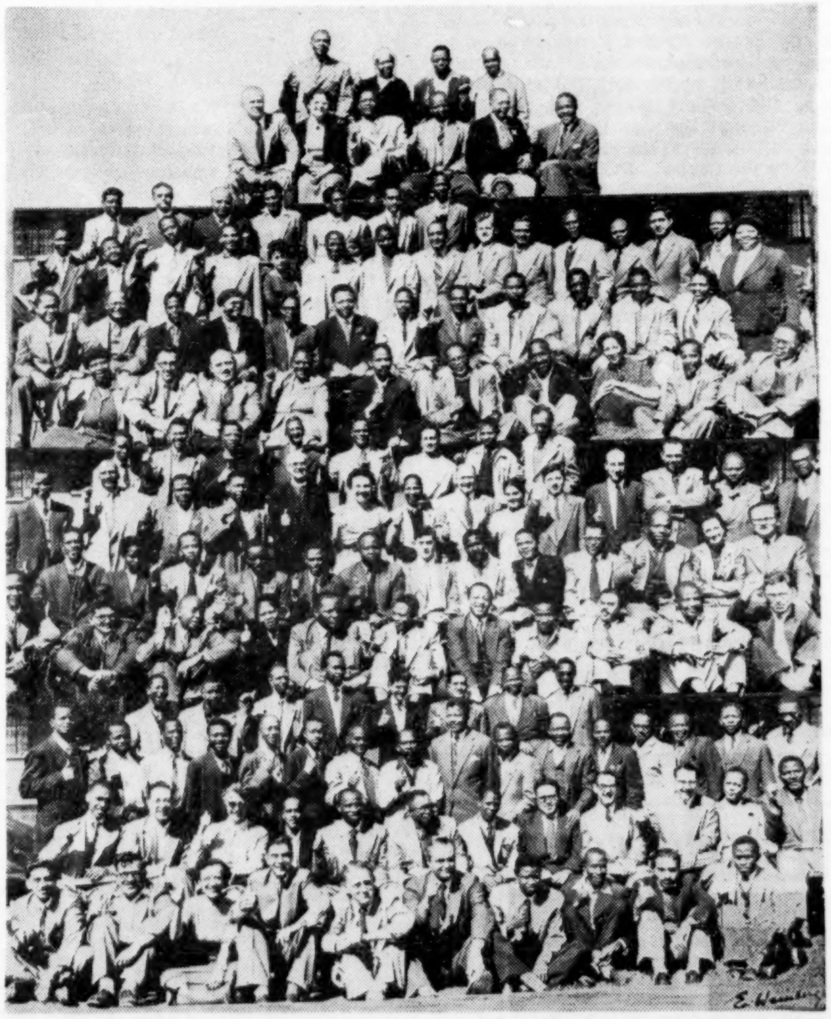
The accused included 22 Africans; three Indians; one Colored, and two whites, Mrs. Helen Joseph, chairman of the South African Fedn. of Women, and Leon Levy, a trade union leader. A large crowd of African, Indian, white and Colored spectators, who had jammed the courtroom, rushed to embrace the defendants when the verdict was announced.

NEW ATTACKS: The acquittals do not end the government's persecution of its opponents or of the Africans' struggle for justice, freedom and equality. Following the court's ruling, the government banned meetings by Levy's Congress of Trade Unions for three months. Many African political leaders are in jail or under arrest and their organizations were banned a year ago. Some of those originally arrested on treason charges escaped into neighboring British protectorates or into the newly independent African states; one of them, Alfred Hutchison, wrote the dramatic story of his escape in **Road to Ghana.**

Nevertheless, on March 26, following Premier Hendrik Verwoerd's decision to leave the Commonwealth at the end of next month, 1,400 African delegates from 145 regional organizations held a resistance meeting at Pietermaritzburg in defiance of the government ban. Many of them represented organizations driven underground, where they are flourishing under militant, youthful leadership.

PRESSURE GROWING: Verwoerd made his decision at the recent Commonwealth Ministers conference in London, where the Asian and African Premiers condemned the South African government's racist policies. The Pietermaritzburg meeting declared that Africans would stage country-wide passive resistance campaigns unless the Verwoerd government called a conference of elected representatives of all races by May 31 to work out a new non-racial democratic constitution.

At the same time, the African nations in the UN began to put pressure on the South African government by unanimously agreeing to demand punitive measures against South Africa because of its racist policies. Speaking for the Western powers, the U.S. and Ireland opposed such a move. Nigeria's Jaja Wachuku on March 30 warned them not to abstain in voting on a draft resolution being prepared by the Afro-Asians; he declared that an abstention would be considered as "a vote against us" and that the abstainer would be regarded as "an enemy of our future."



A GROUP PHOTO OF THE 156 ORIGINAL TREASON TRIAL DEFENDANTS
All could have been hanged if found guilty of the charge

Peace actions

(Continued from Page 1)

The rally ended with the approval of a resolution urging the U.S., Britain and the Soviet Union to negotiate an immediate cessation of bomb tests.

WALK FROM MAINE: At the same time members of the pacifist Committee for Nonviolent Action who had started a 340-mile walk March 11 in Kittery, Me., arrived in town. Although CNVA advocates unilateral disarmament, it welcomed support from all.

The marchers were joined by members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League and Student Peace Union, which sponsored the march. The 100 Days for Peace Committee, which was not asked to join the SANE demonstration because of "incompatibility," endorsed the CNVA walk.

Several hundred marched through the Bronx and held a rally for integration at Mount Morris Park in Harlem.

On Easter Sunday morning the group, led by veteran pacifist A. J. Muste, marched downtown. On the way delegations stopped at the U.S. and Soviet missions to the UN to present letters calling for an end to nuclear weapons.

PARK AVE. RALLY: At 3 p.m. the demonstrators gathered in the face of heavy gusts for a rally near an armory at 33rd St. and Park Ave. Speakers included Muste, Marjorie Swann, who spent six months in jail for civil disobedience in Omaha, Richard Zink, who attempted to board Polaris submarines in New London, Conn., Robert Gore, a leader of the Southern anti-segregation sit-ins, and Robert Gilmore of the American Friends Service Committee.

More than 1,000 persons participated and most were younger than 30. They reported few hecklers, but during the march down Park Ave., a man stuck his head from the rear of a cab and in a heavy Russian accent shouted: "Go back to Russia."

BOSTON MARCH: In Boston, peace groups coordinated their activities in a 20-mile march April 1 in a driving rain from the Minuteman statue in Lexington to a rally at Faneuil Hall in Boston. Some 150 persons, including a six-year-old, walked all the way. Leading the walk were Julius Bernstein of the Massachusetts Labor Council, Dr. Charles Coryell of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. Harold DeWolf of the School of Theology at Boston U., Allan Forbes of SANE, Dr. Everett Mendelsohn of Harvard and Jack Bollen of the American Friends Service Committee. Also in the march were psychiatrist Roy Menninger and Prof. Allan Brick of Dartmouth.

Several hundred persons attended the rally where Dr. Jay Orear of Cornell, member of the American delegation to the Pugwash Conference in Moscow, spoke.

The demonstration was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, Boston Committee for Disarmament and Peace, Fellowship of Reconciliation, SANE, Peace and Social Concerns Committee and Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom.

PENTAGON ACTION: About 100 persons marched around the Pentagon in Washington in the rain on April 1. They were in plain view from the offices of Secy. of Defense Robert McNamara and Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The day before they had picketed Atomic Energy Commission Headquarters in Germantown, Md., and earlier they had held a vigil at the germ warfare base at Fort Detrick, Md.

After the picketing the demonstrators marched three miles to Judiciary Square for a rally.

The demonstrations, called Witness for Peace, were the combined efforts of local chapters of AFSC, FOR, SANE, Vigil at Fort Detrick and WILPF.

PITTSBURGH WALK: Snow flurries and high winds kept down the size of the demonstration in Pittsburgh. But 65 persons braved the weather to march through the downtown shopping center. Several marchers took young children with them. The youngsters took turns carrying a sign reading, "Let Me Grow Up." A university student who heard of the march on a radio news broadcast joined the demonstrators.

The demonstration was co-sponsored by AFSC and SANE, with cooperation from local clergy.

MILWAUKEE ACTION: About 150 persons, including some 40 children, marched through downtown Milwaukee in a demonstration sponsored by SANE. Rev. Herbert J. Huebschmann, pastor of Friedens Evangelical and Reformed Church, led a prayer at Memorial Center.

Dr. William Davidon, Dr. Harold Taylor, Homer Jack and Leo Goodman, intl. representative of the AFL-CIO Auto Workers, addressed an evening rally.

TWO CHICAGO WALKS: About 1,500 persons participated in two walks in Chicago. More than 100 young people set out from the Great Lakes Naval Station for the Loop, 40 miles away. Sprinkled in the group were some over-21s, including Dr. and Mrs. Leopold Frey, age 65. As the group passed Lake Forest College, it was met by about 100 students shouting, "We want war." Two of the peace marchers, Pete Clark, 20, and Pete Allen, 18, sized up the counter-demonstrators as pranksters and pushed into their ranks and began talking. In 20 minutes there was general handshaking.

Another walk covered Ground Zero, a four-mile area in Chicago which would be obliterated by a medium sized H-bomb.

The two groups joined for a rally at Hotel Morrison. About 2,500 persons attended, including members of the CNVA San Francisco-to-Moscow walk who were passing through town. Dr. Harold Taylor, A. J. Muste and Homer Jack spoke. Nuclear physicist Dr. William Davidon, who led the Great Lakes walk, was chairman.

SAN FRANCISCO: California weather lived up to Chamber of Commerce blurbs and helped the peace movement bloom. More than 3,000 demonstrators turned out in San Francisco and about 2,000 in Los Angeles. SANE and AFSC cooperated in both cities.

In the shadow of a World War II memorial at Washington Park in Sunnyvale March 28, 216 persons, some pushing baby carriages, started a walk which ended April 1 in San Francisco. About 400 had participated by the time the line reached its destination—a Union Square rally.

Speakers included Emil Mazey, secy.-treasurer of the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers, Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Dr. Seymour Melman of Columbia U. and writer Milton Mayer. Mazey said that he was not a pacifist. But, he added, "I am concerned about the real danger of a third world war . . . One mistake, a mentally ill pilot, an accidental or mistaken reading of a radar signal, could start a war . . . The only answer is disarmament."

Mazey said that disarmament would not hurt the economy. He said the changeover "would have to be gradual," but the war manufacturing facilities could be used to build houses, hospitals and schools.

LOS ANGELES: Demonstrators in Los Angeles began April 1 with vigils at the Atomic Energy Commission and RAND Corporation headquarters from 7:30 a.m. to noon. At 1 p.m. about 600 persons set out at Hancock Park for a rally at MacArthur Park at 4 p.m. A singing group accompanied the march on a sound truck.

Nobel Laureate Dr. Linus Pauling and his wife, Ava Helen, greeted the demonstrators at the rally. In turn the Paulings were presented with 10,000 signatures to their petition to the UN against the spread of nuclear weapons.

Pauling and actress Sheree North spoke.

SEATTLE: Seattle had a steady rain April 1, but 300 persons marched from the Fort Lawton missile center to City Hall Park, twice as many as in a similar demonstration last year. Norman Thomas of the SANE national board and Robert Pickus of Berkeley, Calif., spoke at a rally.

Thomas called all governments "basically untrustworthy," all peoples "basically peace-loving" and civil defense "a cruel joke." He warned the audience not to settle for "arms control" as opposed to disarmament.

Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

SOME OF THE BRIGHTEST AND SANEST FACES IN THE NATION WERE IN THE UN PLAZA

This was a view of part of the crowd that gathered April 1 to demonstrate for peace

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BOOKS

Bergman's screen plays

VICTOR SJOSTROM AS PROFESSOR ISAK BORG
The doctor visits the strawberry patch of his childhood

IN THE INTRODUCTION to four of his screenplays," the Swedish film director, Ingmar Bergman, writes: "Film has nothing to do with literature; the character and substance of the two art forms are usually in conflict."

He explains: "The written word is read and assimilated by a conscious act of will in alliance with the intellect; little by little it affects the imagination and the emotions. The process is different with a motion picture. When we experience a film, we consciously prime ourselves for illusion. Putting aside will and intellect, we make way for it in our imagination. The sequence of pictures plays directly on our feelings."

It is typical of Bergman that his persuasive remarks on the opposite ways in which we respond to the written word and to the image on the screen should precede four exhibits of his own highly developed literary imagination employed in the conception of some of his best films. These are **Smiles of a Summer Night** (1955), **The Seventh Seal** (1956), **Wild Strawberries** (1957), and **The Magician** (1958). The apparent belying of his theory by his own performance also illustrates the continual interplay of a classical and a romantic trend within his mind, the one controlling, the other enriching the creative process.

INGMAR BERGMAN
Clash of reason and feeling

IN BERGMAN'S art the opposites of reason and feeling are likewise in constant motion. They approach and withdraw from one another like heavenly bodies, and it is hard to say which has the greater pull on him. I would guess that either becomes repellent to him—or, at least, absurd—when it assumes an extreme form. He is certainly a master of comedy, which is a means for knocking pretensions off their pedestals.

In **Smiles of a Summer Night,** the respectable lawyer, Fredrik Egerman, whose business affairs are in perfect order and whose private ones appear peaceful enough, though slightly flawed, is dragged to humiliating defeat by the force of true love—that of his young wife and his son by an earlier marriage. He will be restored to relative equilibrium by the passion of a woman of deep feeling, the actress Desirée, who hates cant and who is able to love only when she is free of conventional obligation. But in the same film the Countess Malcolm is enslaved through her obsessive love for her idiot-warrior husband whom Desirée returns to her as an unsatisfactory article.

In **The Seventh Seal,** the knight, Antonius Block, returns from the Crusades to find himself in the midst of almost universal savagery provoked by priests and carried out by soldiers like those who accompanied him on his holy trek. Meeting Death, he prolongs a chess game with the Black Monk so that he can gain time to perform just one meaningful deed before the end. But complementing him—and as essential to his survival as Sancho Panza to Don Quixote—is his squire, Jons, who mocks at him with the observation: "Our crusade was such madness that only a real idealist could have thought it up."

WATCHING THE penitents whipping one another in the name of God, he tells the knight: "My dirty feet are two splendid starting points for my philosophy." If this sounds cynical, it is pretty well justified by what we have witnessed. In any event, there is no hint that Jons' outlook has made him heartless. He is the enemy of superstition and of all ugly, life-denying fanatics. He is convinced of life's total meaninglessness only because he has seen too many horrors like the burning as a witch of the 14-year-old child, Tyan.

Nevertheless, Bergman's temperament inclines him to the knight's side. The squire has saved a peasant girl from being murdered, but he cannot shield her from Death, who takes him as well at the last. Only Antonius has been able to trick his opponent into letting the little "family of man," the players Jof and Mia (Joseph and Mary?) and their child escape into the next day's dawn.

The least literary of the scripts is **Wild Strawberries.** It is logically the one in which the rational man, 76-year-old Dr. Isak Borg, is hardest hit by truths told in anger and self-accusing nightmares. What is to be Borg's day of honor at the University of Lund Jubilee is marked by unprecedented accusations, repulsive hysterical quarrels and confessions of emotional impotence, recollections of sexual betrayal and degradation, and the conviction, revealed to him in a dream, "That I'm dead, although I live."

YET HERE TOO Bergman's human kindness intervenes to prevent the unconscious, which knows nothing of proportion, from destroying its guilt-ridden host. Balm is poured on the wounds of the man of reason. His son's wife, with whose troubles he had refused to be concerned, learns to like him before the day's end; the man at the gas station in his home town remembers him with such affection that he declines pay for his fuel; he has been charmed by a trio of young people whom he has picked up on the road; he overhears the reconciliation of his son and daughter-in-law, and he faces the dull pomp of the school ceremony with irony devoid of bitterness. Best of all, he can now take pleasure in the memory of others' and his own simple delights, in the "wild strawberries" of life.

The hocus pocus in **The Magician** is the work of two masters of illusion, the conjurer and failure, Albert Vogler, who wears the face of a Byzantine Christ, and Bergman himself who uses the subject matter, devices and "happy ending" of a fairy tale to pose the dilemma of the artist in a society hostile to art.

One evening in the summer of 1846, Vogler and his little traveling troupe who have just entered Stockholm are summoned to a command performance at the house of Consul Abraham Egerman. Powerless to refuse, they are subjected to his patronizing courtesy, the coarse insults of the Police Chief Starbeck, and the cold enmity of medical Doctor Vergérus, who represents the claims of science and intends to prove to Egerman that Vogler is a faker. A gruesome conflict ensues between Vogler and the doctor; the raggle-taggle players and the audience suffer disgusting mortification at one anothers' hands, and things come to a pleasant pass partly because Bergman wants illusion to take the curtain bow.

IT IS TEMPTING to suggest another intention. The clue to it may be the doctor, who is evidently a follower of Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the father of positivism. This basically reactionary philosophy was very attractive to the ruling classes of the capitalist countries. It placed science at their feet and permitted servile philistines like the doctor to consider themselves members of an elite appointed to guide mankind for its good and to punish it for its faults.

Two years after the date set by Bergman for his comedy, a series of revolutions swept the countries of western Europe and "in Paris is the first great battle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was joined." (Karl Marx: **Class Struggles in France**). If we allow for the limited satisfaction which "subterraneans" like Vogler can ever exact from the insolent in office, it is possible to see in his revenge upon Vergérus a presentiment of the scare which the underdogs of the continent gave their lords and masters.

The clash of reason and feeling is one of the oldest themes of literature. But it becomes a problem in the modern sense when the ruling class of a society appropriates the science of its time for anti-human ends, so that the knowledge of the few is pitted against the fate and the desires of millions. Though this concern is rarely stated directly in Bergman's films, the magic of his art is inseparable from his delight with all that enhances life and his hatred for whatever threatens it with swift or slow destruction.

—Charles Humboldt

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Laos crisis eased

(Continued from Page 1)

ence of the 14 nations.

CEASE-FIRE APPEAL: The Soviet reply stressed that Moscow has always advocated a neutral, unified and independent Laos and has "long since pressed for the urgent convocation of an appropriate international conference" to bring this about. It said the Soviet government favors a cease-fire appeal by the Soviet Union and Britain—the two co-chairmen of the Geneva conference—and a meeting of the three-nation commission in New Delhi as soon as possible. It added, however, that this meeting must not impede the convocation of the 14-nation conference.

In the note the Soviet Union said that like any other European and Asian states, it regards the ousted Souvanna Phouma government as the lawful Laotian regime. It said that SEATO saber-rattling and threats to interfere in the affairs of Laos in which some powers indulged, "may seriously aggravate the matter of settling the Laotian problem."

CHIEF OBSTACLE: In London the Soviet reply was considered "encouraging." President Kennedy said: "The Soviet reply appears to be a useful next step toward a peaceful settlement of a potentially dangerous situation." Many points, however, still remained to be ironed out and clarified. But even if all went smoothly, one point remained a major obstacle: U.S. insistence on recognizing the Boun Oum government as the legal government of Laos around which a coalition would be built.

The Boun Oum government has no leg to stand on—either in law or in popularity. The legitimate and popular Laotian government is that headed by Premier Phouma, which the U.S. twice recognized and twice helped overthrow. The Boun Oum government was set up by the U.S., as American news commentators now frankly admit, and was given the appearance of legality by the approval of King Savang Vatthana under U.S. pressure. Behind Boun Oum is the U.S.-supported strong man, Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, whom the CIA has dubbed "Our Man."

ONLY ONE MAN: This triumvirate has little qualification for heading a modern government. **Time** magazine (3/17) said of King Vatthana: "His most striking characteristic politically is a lethargy so profound that it is almost spectacular." It described Boun Oum as a man who is "excessively fond of drinking and wenching" and who has staffed his administration "almost exclusively with his own relatives." He named his nephew "to the lucrative post of Finance Minister." Nosavan's brother, **Time** said, has been awarded "the equally desirable job of Director of Customs."

Kennedy, it is true, has advocated a genuinely neutral and independent Laos. Phouma, conceded by U.S. allies to be a true neutralist, is the only one qualified to head a coalition Laotian government. In any case, in the elections to be held after a coalition government takes office and the neutrality of Laos is guaranteed by the 14-nation conference, few doubt that the overwhelming majority would favor Phouma and the Pathet Lao.

THE CUBA QUESTION: Should a popularly-elected government then proceed to initiate a planned social, economic, political and cultural development of Laos, Washington, if past precedent holds, would no longer regard the government as neutral but would dub it "Communist." But unless any new government initiates such a program, it will lose its popular base.

For neutrality would be meaningless to the Laotians unless non-alignment with power blocs opens up opportunities for them rapidly to improve their living conditions.

This is the dilemma the U.S. faces, and in this regard there are no signs that President Kennedy is considering a new policy. Further, the President is following the same pattern in Cuba and the Congo.

Kennedy has bluntly given notice that the government of Premier Fidel Castro, which has raised the Cuban standard of living despite U.S. hostility, is anathema to him. He has never retracted his campaign statement that he advocates support of those inside and outside Cuba who work for the overthrow of the Castro regime. Cuban exiles openly prepare on U.S. soil for an invasion of Cuba, and a Cuban government-in-exile has been taking shape in America without protest from Washington.

THE CONGO PRECEDENT: There is even a more striking similarity between Laos and the Congo. As in Laos, so in the Congo, the U.S. intrigued with other Western powers to overthrow the legal Lumumba government. Washington recognized and forced UN recognition of the government of President Kasavubu. And behind Kasavubu, there stands the Congolese strong man, Maj. Gen. Mobutu.

Correspondents in the Congo have repeatedly stated that Kasavubu has no popular base. In an interview for the **U.S. News** (4/10), Indian Premier Nehru said of the Kasavubu regime: "The present authority [in the Congo] is hand-picked, without any popular backing or constitutional sanction."

The Congo situation has become grotesque since the Tananarive conference which in effect dissolved the Kasavubu government—unreal as it was—and replaced it with what now threatens to be a confederation of no less than 20 independent states. Yet both the U.S. and the UN continue to regard the obsolete Kasavubu government as the legal representative of the Congo; and the U.S. demands that if any Congolese coalition government is projected, it should be built around the Kasavubu regime.

GROWING RESISTANCE: Washington's policy of setting up puppet regimes in underdeveloped countries and then demanding, in the event of conflict, that coalition governments be built around them, is being resisted—although obliquely—both by Washington's allies and in the UN.

Britain and France favor Phouma over Boun Oum in Laos. In Latin America, Castro's prestige is increasing despite U.S. pressure. In the UN, an overwhelming majority of the members have refused to contribute to UN expenses in the Congo, which amounted to $49,000,000 in 1960 and is expected to reach $120,000,000 this year.

Last week 18 Latin American nations proposed that the five permanent members of the Security Council—the U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and Chiang Kai-shek's representative—pay 70% of the Congo costs; those with more than $1,000,000 invested in the Congo to pay 25% and the remaining 5 per cent be shared by all other UN members.

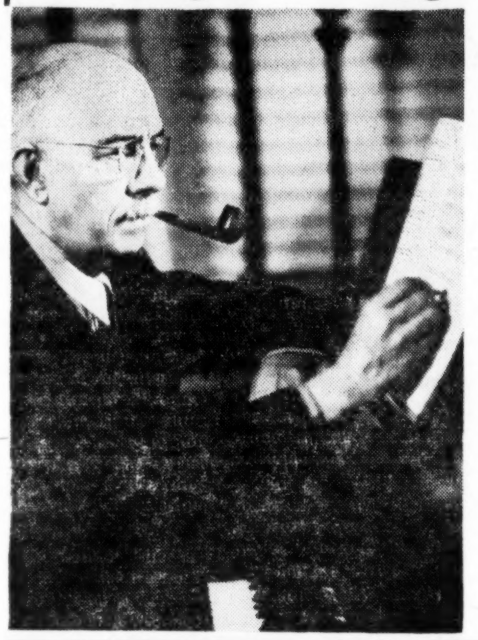
THEY ARE GAINING: Surveying the underdeveloped areas of the world, the London **New Statesman** said (3/31): "In most cases, the pro-Western elements—often identified with the concept of 'bourgeois democracy'—have been discredited by colonialism and corruption. Popular and radical forces are in the ascendant, and these have an instinctive leaning toward the Communist bloc. Left to themselves, by a formal guarantee of non-intervention, there is little doubt that these forces will triumph—and hence, in American eyes at least, undermine the principle of neutrality."

In Laos, in Cuba, in the Congo, any policy that freezes poverty, disease and illiteracy is bound to fail. Kennedy has called for social change to accompany economic aid, but has shied away from probing the depth of the change needed. The **New Statesman** said:

"So far, the Kennedy administration has taken only the most timid steps in this direction. The new program for Latin America makes social change a condition for receiving aid—but its sponsors remain implacably hostile to Cuba, the one Latin American country where genuine social change has been put in hand. In Asia, Washington now seems to admit that pro-Western puppets, sustained by dollars and arms, are no longer a formula for stability; but it remains wholeheartedly committed to precisely this formula in Formosa, South Vietnam and Iran."

This is the crux of the matter. And while the U.S. ascribes lack of will to fight on the part of Gen. Nosavan's Laotian forces to their "religious beliefs," there is something more: The Pathet Lao forces fight with determination, with the support of numerous tribal people, in the knowledge that they are fighting for a better life for all Laotians.

Wallingford Riegger dead at 75



WALLINGFORD RIEGGER, the noted American composer, died in New York April 2 at the age of 75. He had been injured in a freak street accident the day before and had failed to respond after brain surgery. Riegger was admired, the New York **Times** said April 3, as "one of the liveliest musical minds and one of the keenest musical intelligences this country has yet produced."

He was in addition a long-time progressive who spoke out with courage on many controversial issues. In 1957 he invoked the First Amendment when questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee on his connection with the Metropolitan Music School, of which he was then president emeritus. He was a devoted friend of the GUARDIAN.

As a teacher and through his compositions he exerted a great influence on American composers in the last 40 years.

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Friday, April 14—8 p.m.
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SEND-OFF TRIBUTE for MR. & MRS. JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, who are leaving for a one-year trip in Europe. **FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 7:30 P.M.—CAROLINA PINES, 7315 MELROSE**—Beautiful Musical Program—Community Greetings, Coffee & Dessert will be served from 7:30 to 8:15 p.m. Donation: $1. Ausp: So. Calif. Comm. for The People's World.

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honoring **FRANCIS J. McTERNAN,** attorney, **VICTOR ARNAUTOFF,** artist and **PHYLLIS HEIKKILA.** Guest speaker: Dorothy Marshall.
FRIDAY, APRIL 21—7:30 P.M.
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SEATTLE

PAUL SWEEZY, co-author with Leo Huberman of **CUBA: ANATOMY OF A REVOLUTION,** will speak on "CUBA NOW," Friday, April 14, 8 p.m., at the Humanist Building, 604 University St. Ausp: Seattle Community Forum. Reception afterwards at Mercers, 747 21st N.

CHICAGO

MAUD RUSSELL CHICAGO AREA SPEAKING DATES—May 27 to June 12. Make arrangements with Dorothy Hayes, 1376 E. 53rd St. Phone **PLaza 2-2949,** evenings.

WILLIAM MANDEL, eminent historian on the USSR, will speak on "CO-EXISTENCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION TODAY & TOMORROW," Hall A, 9th floor, Friday, April 14 at 32 W. Randolph. Don. $1. — Ausp: Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship.

Hear **"WORKER"** Editor-in-chief, James E. Jackson, **"MEANING FOR AMERICA OF DRAMATIC EVENTS IN AFRICA"**
SUN. APRIL 16 7:30 P.M.
410 S. Michigan Room 833
Ausp: Worker Forum, Freedom of the Press Committee.

DETROIT

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein on "The Negro in American Literature."
FRI., APRIL 14—8 P.M.
Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward
Ausp: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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SAT., APRIL 29 8 P.M.
Hispanos-Unidos Center, 3564 W. Vernor H'way (1 block E. of W. Grand Blvd.)
Tickets: $1.50 Students 75c
Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

NEWARK

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116 University Pl., off Union Sq.
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. Don. 50c.

SCOTT NEARING
on "UNREST IN THE CARIBBEAN"
WED., APRIL 12—8:30 p.m.
116 University Pl., off Union Sq.
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The SOCIAL SCIENCE FORUM, April 21, which was to have been addressed by Herbert Aptheker, has been cancelled. This ends this season's series.

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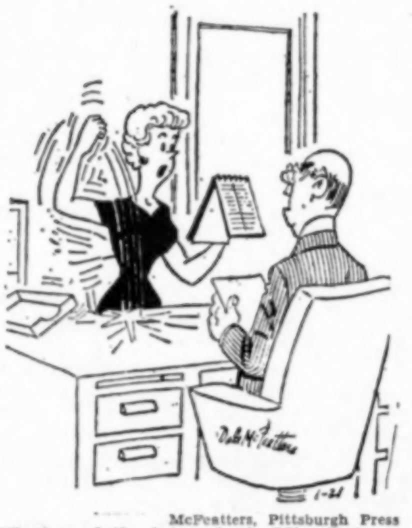
THE GALLERY

IF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN Activities Committee decides to investigate Freudian slips, it may go after Mayor Robert Patterson of Livermore, Calif. Introducing the film **Operation Abolition,** the committee's doctored version of the San Francisco demonstrations against its hearings last May, Patterson called it "Operation Abortion." . . . . A Miami **Herald** story on candidates for county manager noted that William Gildea has nine children, with a tenth on the way. The story quoted him as saying: "I pursue many things with a great deal of energy." . . . . It cost William H. Messimore, 86, of Los Angeles $7,000 to prove his faith in capitalism. Two men claiming to be "communists" bet Messimore that he could not withdraw his money from the bank without being hit over the head by "capitalists." Messimore got his money out easily enough and was persuaded by the "communists" to put it in a paper bag. When he was not looking they switched bags. Messimore was left holding a bag with paper tissues and a pack of cigarettes. . . . Hammacher Schlemmer in New York is offering an "1861 Turn Coat" for dogs. On one side are the Confederate colors, on the other the Union colors . . . . In advertising a series called Crisis 1961, the Hollywood **Citizen-News** noted that it would cover "the problem of individuals and families facing such disastrous problems as alcoholism, physical disability, bankruptcy, cancer, divorce, poverty, epilepsy, vice, juvenile crime and socialism."

AN AD IN THE LONDON Sunday **Observer** read: "Slave wanted. Home offered and the constant sound of children. In a Cotswold village. Age, creed and race unimportant." . . . British anthropologist Goeffrey Gorer told the Municipal Education Committee that there was no evidence that today's adolescents are less moral than teenagers of previous generations . . . . From **Time and Tide** in London: "The American craze for British air hostesses is not based entirely on sentiment. Our girls tend to have shorter legs and smaller bosoms which makes it easier for them to move about in a crowded plane . . . On Monday, April 10, at 9:15 p.m., WBAI in New York (99.5 FM) will offer a documentary on "The Heikkila Case." . . . The San Francisco **Chronicle** reported that Harry Bridges is considering a libel suit against John Dos Passos for saying in his new book **Midcentury** that the West Coast longshore union leader had been "keen about herding Pacific Coast Japanese into concentration camps" during World War II. The union actually had fought the plan. Bridges is married to a Japanese-American who was in one of the camps. Bridges said: "If I don't sue Dos Passos, it'll be because I don't want to give him the publicity. The book's a flop anyway."

—Robert E. Light



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VRS — 6014 — SHOSTAKOVICH SYMPHONY NO 1 in F MAJOR, op. 10, State Orchestra of the USSR, Kondrashin cond

VRS — 6015 — LISZT CONCERTO NO 1 in E Flat for piano & orch., with Emil Gilels and the USSR State Orch., Kondrashin cond. (with Saint-Saens Concerto No. 2)

VRS — 6018 — BRAHMS VIOLIN CONCERTO in D, Op. 77 with D. Oistrakh, USSR Sym. Orch., Kondrashin cond.

VRS — 6019 — FRANCK SONATA IN A, VIOLIN & PIANO, D. Oistrakh, violin, Oborin, piano (with Prokofiev: Sonata No. 1 in F minor).

VRS—6024—BEETHOVEN, SONATA FOR VIOLIN & PIANO IN A, op. 47, **"KREUTZER"**; D. Oistrakh, violin; L. Oborin, piano (with Sonatas of Leclair & Ysaye).

VRS — 6027 — DVORAK VIOLIN CONCERTO, op. 53; D. Oistrakh, USSR Sym. Orch., Kondrashin cond. (with Glazounov, Violin Concerto).

VRS — 6028—SCHUMANN CONCERTO IN A MINOR, CELLO & ORCH.; Shafran, cello; USSR Sym. Orch., Kondrashin cond. (with works of Falla, Haydn).

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VRS — 9010—THE WEAVERS AT CARNEGIE HALL, Pete Seeger, Ronnie Gilbert, Fred Hellerman, Lee Hays.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Susie Stageberg

SUSIE STAGEBERG died on March 15 of cancer at the age of 84 in Red Wing, Minn. To newer generations, and to most easterners, her name may have only a pleasant alliterative lilt; but to older people, and those who have some knowledge of the history of the north central plains, her name evokes images of the woman's suffrage movement, the Christian Temperance Union, grass roots journalism and, above all, the Farmer-Labor movement.

Susie—no one ever called her anything else—was a handsome, square-faced woman with a marvelously broad smile, gentle in manner, but firm in opinion, and boundless in energy and zeal. She got into politics when she was the young wife of a church college professor—Olaf Stageberg of Red Wing Seminary, who died in 1947—and she was roundly criticized for it at the time. She replied that she did indeed believe that woman's place was in the home, but that her home included every place her children went. She said: "To me, an understanding of political issues has the same bearing to daily life as the Bible has to eternal life. It brings direction."

WHEN THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE, with a fresh, independent concept of American politics, spilled over from North Dakota into Minnesota, hundreds of Non-Partisan clubs sprang up all over the state, and Susie became executive secretary of the women's groups. There was a debate then whether the clubs should work through the old parties, or form a new party of their own.

In 1922, at a meeting in the office of the Minneapolis **Daily Star** (a Non-Partisan paper), Susie rose and advocated the founding of an independent party which would truly put forward farmer-labor issues. She was supported by Magnus Johnson and Charles Lindbergh Sr., and before the meeting adjourned, the Farmer-Labor Party was born.

She continued as a Farmer-Labor leader and ran for office several times; in 1928 she got 178,000 votes in the race for secretary of state. She traveled up and down the state at her own expense, speaking at outdoor rallies. Few clubs could afford a hall. She wrote a column in the **Daily Star,** and in 1927 became editor for over two years of **The Organized Farmer.** The Farmer-Labor movement in those years was the leading political group in Minnesota and gave the state some of the best leadership in its history—the name of Gov. Elmer Benson comes to the fore—and some of its best legislation.

In 1943, torn by internal dissension and pressed from the outside, the Farmer-Labor Party combined with the Democratic Party, a move which Susie opposed. She foresaw that the Democrats would take over, even though they were the minority, and that they would destroy the populist character of the coalition.

WHEN THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY was founded in 1948, Susie was there in Philadelphia. She was the PP candidate for lieutenant governor of Minnesota in 1950. Once she arrived late for an impromptu dinner party of PP leaders in Chicago (Elmer Benson, Vito Marcantonio, C. B. Baldwin, the GUARDIAN's John T. McManus, among others). There were several bottles of Bourbon in evidence along the table. Her great friend Benson sang out:

"Well, Susie, what do you think of all this whisky here?"

"Now Elmer," Susie came back, ever so gently, "you know what we used to say in the Temperance movement: 'We hate the sin but love the sinner.' "

Another time, when Susie was off on her travels and let her GUARDIAN sub lapse, she came home to find a note from McManus telling her that the GUARDIAN too loved the sinner, even if it hated the sin of letting a sub lapse. Susie's sub came tumbling in with an outpouring of love for the letter writer who dared to use an elderly woman's words to plague her.

SUSIE RECALLED THAT INCIDENT with high good humor when I saw her in Minneapolis last January, when I spoke at a GUARDIAN meeting there. In her column in the Minnesota **Posten,** a Norwegian weekly, she reported on the meeting and spoke of the GUARDIAN "ferreting out the truth on unimpeachable authority and getting it out to the many thousands of readers." She wrote:

"Some of us have known of this tremendous problem from the days of Ignatius Donnelly, who published his own **Monopolist,** and the Non-Partisan League with all their small country papers dotting the countryside in the Dakotas and Minnesota, where it could also be said that 'truth was dangerous' to tell."

The Minnesota **Labor Review,** in its March 23 issue, said of Susie: "When the real history of Minnesota is written, the name of Susie Stageberg will be among the most illustrious and the most devoted to making and keeping Minnesota a land of the free in the best sense of the word."

Her dear friend Emma Carlson of Minneapolis wrote last week: "Susie called the GUARDIAN a newspaper with a heart."

The heart's blood comes from people like Susie Stageberg.

—**James Aronson**

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